1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in. 114

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information. 12

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance. 123 124

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This 114 [361] [133]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty. Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL

THE Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Peilungua Mountains just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.[1] This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed from a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast, rolling watershed of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter *S* plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitous; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

The elevation of the Kwoma territory is not sufficient to cause any noticeable variation from the strictly tropical climate of the entire Sepik River Valley. The daily range in temperature, from an average of seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit at dawn to eighty-five in mid-afternoon, closely approximates the norm in the river villages. Humidity is high throughout the year. Some rain falls virtually every day and all-day storms are not uncommon, but the climate and precipitation are so uniform throughout the year that there is no clear-cut division into seasons. Gardens may be planted, cultivated, and harvested at any and all times of the year.

[1] The tribe is situated approximately four degrees and ten minutes south of the equator and one hundred and forty-two degrees and forty minutes east of Greenwich.

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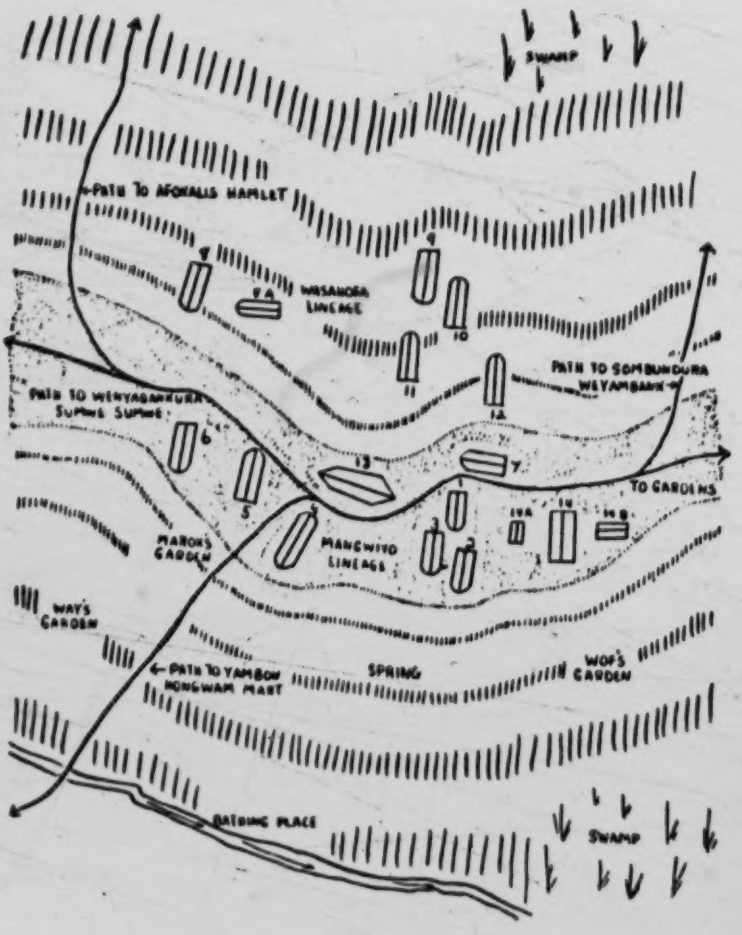

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View of the Sepik River taken from near Rumbima house tamberan. The forested slopes of the Peilungua range upon which the Kwoma dwell may be seen in the right foreground and left center. The sago swamp at the base of this range extends from the left foreground to the right center. The light section which is partially surrounded by this swamp is a mat of grass floating on the lake, the unchoked part of which may be seen beyond. Above and to the right of the lake may be seen glimpses of the Sepik as it winds its way around the spur at the left toward Ambunti. See Chapter I, page 8.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13
[p.168-A]

Chapter I Orientation[1]

131 The Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Prince Alexander
131 Mountains, just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.
131 This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is
133 bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed by a former
oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast rolling watershed
133 of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It
consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter s, plus
a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip
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length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitious; in climbing it is
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avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends
down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest
point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

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[113] 1 For the following orientation, certain materials are quoted from the published reports on the Kwoma listed below:

"Kwoma Culture," John W.M. Whiting and Stephen W. Reed, Oceania, Vol. IX, No. 2, December 1938, pp. 170-216.
Becoming a Kwoma, John W.M. Whiting, Yale University Press, 1941.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which [133] is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [347] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

614 [769] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to 276 the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting id the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

Now "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense: a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overall, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a g, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 123 657 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Her had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

● 133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Feilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a S, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.